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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3151

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJECT:POLADS STUDY OF SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

REF: USNATO 3088

THE MISSION HAS JUST RECEIVED THE LATEST REVISION OF THE NATO/IS
PAPER ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED AT JUNE 10
POLADS MEETING. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING, IF POSSIBLE,
DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR JUNE 10 MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT

1. THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET DEFINITION OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"
FITS INTO THE OVERALL IDEOLOGY AND DILECTIC OF MARXIST THEORY
WHICH REGARDS THE VICOTY OF SOCIALISM OVER CAPITALISM AS
INEVEITABLE.IN THIS FRAMEWORK THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
IS THEREFORE OF A DYNAMIC NATURE, AIMED AT RESHAPING RELATIONS
BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.
A TYPICAL FORUMLATION IS TO BE FOUND IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF A MEETING
BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EAST GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY
AND THE SPAINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PUBLISHED ON3RD DECEMBER
1974)

"PUTTINGINTO EFFECT THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
DOES NOT SIGNIFY THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOCIAL POLITICAL
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STATUS QUO NOR THE END OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BUT
CONTRIBUTES TO THE CREATION OF MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITION
FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.".

2. THE CONCEPT OF A STATIC RELATIONSHIP, WHETHER BETWEEN CLASSES OR COUNTRIES, IS FOREIGN TO COMMUNIST THINKING. MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY POSTULATES A CONTINUING, INEVITABLE AND EVENTUALLY SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASSES AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE AND BY EXTENSION OF THE "SOCIALIST" STATES AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE "CAPITALISM" AS PERCEIVED BY MARXIST-LENINISTS HAS A DOMINATING INFLUENCE. AS EARLY AS THE PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP FROM A POSITION OF RELATIVE WEAKNESS HAS HAD TO FACE THE FACT OF THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF WHAT THEY SAW AS A LARGELY HOSTILE "CAPITALIST" WORLD; IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE HAS BEEN A REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO DESTROY IT BY WAR. THE DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" RESOLVES THIS CONTRADICTION; USED BY SOVIET LEADERS SINCE THE EARLY 1920S, IT WAS ELEVATED IN 1956 FROM A CONVENIENT HISTORICAL INTERLUDE INTO A STATE OF INDEFINITE DURATION. THIS VIEW BECAME AND HAS SINCE

REMAINED THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN STATES. AS TRADITIONALLY DEFINED BY SOVIET IDEOLOGISTS,

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IS THUS PEACEFUL ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT IT EXCLUDES GENERAL WAR, AND FORESEES COEXISTENCE ONLY UNTIL WHAT BREZHNEV HAS CALLED "THE TOTAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD" OVER CAPITALISM. DURING THIS PERIOD OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND IN SOME CASES LOCAL WARS) ARE NOT EXCLUDED AND, ACCORDING TO SOME AUTHORITIES INCLUDING BREZHNEV HIMSELF, MUST ACTUALLY BE INTENSIFIED. "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" APPEARS AS A DIALECTICAL PHENOMENON WHICH CONTAINS ELEMENTS BOTH OF CO-OPERATION AND OF STRUGGLE... IT IS ABOVE ALL A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA," IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SOVIET LEADERS RECOMMEND SOVIET-FINNISH RELATIONS AS A MODEL OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

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3. A FURTHER DIFFICULTY FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET DEFINITION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS LAIN IN ITS APPLICATION ONLY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. INSIDE THE SOVIET CAMP IT IS "PROLETARIAN" OR "SOCIALIST" INTERNATIONALISM WHICH APPLIES. ACCORDING TO THE ABOVE INTERPRETATION THE "CLASS" CHARACTER OF INTRA-COMMUNIST RELATIONS REQUIRES THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS OF COMMUNIST STATES BE SUBORDINATED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CAUSE, AND THAT THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, ONCE MADE, IS IRREVERSIBLE.

4. THE DOCTRINE PURSUITS TO REQUIRE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TO APPLY THEM IN A DISCRIMINATORY WAY ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE

COUNTRY IN QUESTION.

5. THE SECTION DEALING WITH BILATERAL RELATIONS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW ON 17TH FEBRUARY, 1975 (AS WELL AS THE ANGLO-SOVIET PROTOCOL ON CONSULTATIONS) CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

"THE TWO SIDES DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH MEANS LONG-TERM, FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

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6. SUCH A WORDING CONTAINS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS FROM THE TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS SINCE IT EQUATES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH CO-OPERATION, WHICH MEANS MORE THAN MERELY THE AVOIDANCE OF GLOBAL WAR; IT REFERS TO "FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT" WHICH IS HARDLY COMPATIBLE WITH CONTINUED IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE; MOREOVER, THIS VERSION APPLIES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" TO "STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS", WHICH DOES NOT RULE OUT ITS APPLICATION AMONG THE SOCIALIST STATES.

7. BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW FOR THE SOVIETS IN EQUATING THE IDEA OF COEXISTENCE WITH THAT OF CO-OPERATION. THE FAILURE TO MENTION IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY FORM OF CONCESSION. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE FREMLIN CONTINUES TO STATE THAT ITS POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND ITS CONTROL OVER OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS REVEALS THE HEGEMONISM AND DUPLICITY INHERENT IN THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND SHEDS LIGHT ON THE MOR

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QUESTIONABLE ASPECTS OF SOVIET "DETENTE POLICY".

3. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED AT ADJUSTMENTS IN SOVIET FORMULATIONS ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FOR CONSUMPTION OUTSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC AND DESIGNED TO MEET THE SENSITIVITY OF SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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WESTERN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, ANY SUCH NEW FORMULATIONS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR WHEN THE USSR SEES ITS INTERESTS AS SERIOUSLY THREATENED. THE SOVIETS HAVE IN FACT MADE PERSISTENT EFFORTS TO GET PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ENDORSED AS A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW; BUT, IN PROMOTING THE CONCEPT INTERNATIONALLY, THEY HAVE IN GENERAL BEEN CAREFUL TO SUPPRESS ITS IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES AND TO IDENTIFY IT EXCLUSIVELY WITH PRINCIPLES IN LINE WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

9. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEVERAL CASES WHERE SOVIET STATEMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL EVENTS HAVE TAKEN ON A MORE AGGRESSIVE TONE AND SEEMED TO BE DETERMINED MORE BY IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY A DESIRE FOR POLITICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE WEST: IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON 16TH MARCH, BREZHNEV TOOK THE OCCASION TO RESTATE THE SOVIET VIEW OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN TERMS CLOSER TO TRADITIONAL PRE-WILSON VISIT FORMULATIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THE ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF COEXISTENCE ONLY APPLIED BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BUT NOT WITHIN THE COMMUNIST CAMP. THIS CLARIFICATION MIGHT BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO PUBLICLY REDRESS THE BALANCE IN THE INTERPRETATION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ALONG THE MORE TRADITIONAL LINES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE". ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND IS THE ASSESSMENT IN "PRAVDA" ON 8TH APRIL OF THE RESULTS OF THE "PEACE PROGRAMME" ADOPTED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS: PRAVDA STATES THAT THE INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONS' ASPIRATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET CP.

CONCLUSION

10. FOR THE USSR, THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" REMAINS VALID. RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON BOTH PRINCIPLES REFLECT IN NO WAY A CHANGE IN DOCTRINE. IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOVIET LEADERS SIMPLY TO DISREGARD EITHER ONE OF THEM, BEING MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THEIR IDEOLOGY, JUST TO MEET

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THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET STATE IN DETENTE. IN SOVIET MINDS
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE REMAINS AN EXPRESSION OF DIALECTIC
MOMENTUM, OF NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF
WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, SHORT OF WAR.
ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIETS CAN SEE THEIR INTERESTS FURTHERED
THROUGH CO-OPERATION IN CERTAIN AREAS, AND THE "NECESSITY FOR
STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESSES OR DIVISION IN THE
NON-COMMUNIST WORLD" IS TEMPERED IN ACTUAL CASES BY OVERALL
CONSTRAINTS ON SOVIET ACTION.

11. THE COMMITTEE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO IMPLY
ANY FORMAL WESTERN APPROVAL FOR TRADITIONAL SOVIET DEFINITIONS
OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OR TO ACCORD TO IT THE STATUS OF
A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. SOME DELEGATIONS MAINTAINED,
HOWEVER, THAT THERE MIGHT BE ADVANTAGE IN SOME BILATERAL
CONTEXTS IN ATTACHING AN ACCEPTABLE DEFINITION TO THE CONCEPT,
PARTICULARLY IF THIS WOULD SERVE TO SECURE PUBLIC SOVIET
COMMITMENT TO THE PROPOSITION THAT "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"
SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN "SOCIALIST" STATES.
THE COMMITTEE ALSO AGREED THAT IN ANY CASE THE CONCEPTS OF DETENTE,
ENTENTE AND CO-OPERATION, WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY, SHOULD
RECEIVE GREATER EMPHASIS THAN THE MORE AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT
OF "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE."

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